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Indian Trade in the  
Old Northwest 1790-1820

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INDIAN TRADE IN THE OLD NORTHWEST  
1790-1820

BY

MINNIE MAY BUSH

A. B. Cornell College, Iowa, 1905

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THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN HISTORY

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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1909

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

*Minnie May Bush*

ENTITLED *Indian Trade in the Old Northwest*  
*1790 - 1820*

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF *Master of Arts*

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Recommendation concurred in:

Committee

on

Final Examination





INDIAN TRADE IN THE OLD NORTHWEST

1790 - 1820.

- I. The Indians and Indian Trade of the North West.
- II. The Rivalry of United States and Great Britain,  
1790 - 1816.
- III. The Northwest Trading Company.
- IV. The Trading House System.



## Chapter I

### The Indians and Indian Trade of the North west.

The vast wilderness known as the Northwest Territory was the home of the Indians. Here dwelled the native in his simple manner of living, with his love for hunting and for war with his neighbors. The tribes of this country were of two linguistic families, the Algonquian and the Iroquian, the former being more important. The Algonquian occupied the territory about the Great Lakes and all the eastern part of Canada and the eastern states as far south as Tennessee and westward to the Siouan tribes in the Mississippi valley. The main tribes of this family were the Ojibana, Suak, Fox, Illinois, Kickapoo, Menominee, Ottawa and the Pottawotomi.<sup>(1)</sup> The Iroquian were located around Lakes Erie and Ontario, extended down the St. Lawrence river to Quebec and occupied the greater part of New York and eastern Pennsylvania. It was composed of the Five Nations of New York - the Mohawks, Onondaja, Oneida, Cayuga and Seneca, west of these were the Huron and Neutral Nations located between Lake Ontario and Huron ; while south of Lake Erie was the tribe which gave name to the lake.<sup>(2)</sup>

The easiest way of access to these tribes with whom the whites bartered for furs, was by water since "the streams offer -

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(1) American Nation Series, vol. II ; Farrand, Livingston, Basis of American History 1500 - 1900 ; ch. XI.

(2) American Nation Series, vol. II; Farrand, Livingston, Basis of American History 1500 - 1900. ch. XI.





ed a ready means of transport and the light birch bark canoe, which could be shouldered over the necessary portages, made it possible for the early voyagers to penetrate far into the heart of the continent, carrying their merchandise for barter and returning with their bales of furs ". (1) From the Atlantic Ocean the St. Lawrence River, and the Great Lakes offered the read- (2) iest access to the interior thus the French and English advanced inland planting posts on both sides of the river and along the shores of the lakes - the most important places being Quebec, Montreal , Saginaw and St. Louis on the Mississippi River which was reached by way of streams and portages (3) between the lakes and the river - the most important being that from the Fox River to the Wisconsin thence the Mississippi.

Previous to the English occupancy St. Louis was made the center of interior trade and as the starting point of the expeditions to the Indian hunting grounds. From here trans-shipment of the commerce was made to the eastern markets by the water ways to Canada and New Orleans (4) . When the British took possession of the fur trade they tried to change the route of

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(1) American Nation Series, vol. II ; Farrand, Livingston, Basis of American History 1500 - 1900. (2) Ibid.

(3) The portages paths were routes by which the Indians made their way between adjacent bodies of water - over which canoes and baggages were carried. Their classification is according to enviroment - into river portages , or carrying places about unnavigable portions of a river ; headmost portages , or the paths between the heads of two or more rivers ; lake and lake portages or lake and river portages i. e. the carrying places between the lakes or a lake and a river.

(3) Hulbert, Historic Highways - Indian Throughfares vol. II p 53.

(4) Chittenden, The History of the American Fur Trade of the Far west, vol. I ch. If p. 97 Alvord, Illinois Historical Collection vol. II p 38.





commerce from the waterways to Canada and New Orleans to that of the Ohio River, thence by rivers and portages through the mountain passes to the American Colonies. Later, after United States gained the dominion, St. Clair felt that the furs of the interior country could be taken up the Ohio River at less expense than by the route to Canada. In his correspondence with President Washington he cited a Mr. Vigo who had transported goods by land from Philadelphia to Pittsburg thence by the Ohio to the western posts much cheaper than the same could be brought from Canada. <sup>(1)</sup> If this could be accomplished the American trade would be facilitated and more profitable since this would overcome competition with the French and Spanish traders.

The routes which the English had hoped to establish from the Ohio river to the lakes, principally Lake Erie were - To Commerce at the mouth of the Cayuga river, where Cleveland now stands, thence up that river to a point near the city Akron in Summit County, Ohio where there was a portage of about eight miles from the Cuyahoga to the Tuscarawas - thence south to the Muskingum which flows into the Ohio. <sup>(2)</sup> A second important highway begun at the mouth of Sandusky river - thence south to a carrying place about six miles east of Bucyrus in Crawford County thence to the Ohio. <sup>(3)</sup> Another route was from the mouth of the Maume by two ways - 1. From Maumee by ascending St. Marys river thence by a carrying place to the Big Miami which empties into the Ohio ; or by the second route passing up the Maume to Fort Wayne - thence across a carrying place of eight or nine

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(1) Smith's, The St. Clair Papers ; vol. II , p 175.

(2) Ohio Arch. & His. Soc. Pub. ; Taylor, E. L. "Nation Highways and Carrying Places", vol. XIV p 391.

(3) Ibid.



miles to Little river, a branch of Wabash and from the Wabash  
 (1)  
 to the Ohio. The main portages across the mountain "were  
 from the Susquehanna to the Alleghany, the route of the Penn-  
 (2)  
 sylvania Railroad ; from the Potomac to the Monangahela.

They found the competition with the French and Spanish  
 down the Mississippi river was too dangerous. The traders  
 never knew when their boats might be seized by the Spanish  
 Officers or when the navigation of the river might be closed  
 (3)  
 to them. They soon found that the journey up the Ohio river  
 against the current was too difficult as shown by Joseph Har-  
 mar writing from Fort Washington - " The difficulty of forward-  
 ing my dispatches from this post to the war offices is great.  
 Up the river, from here to Fort Pitt, is about five hundred miles  
 it is too fatiguing to be monthly sending a boat against the  
 stream for that purpose , unless extraordinary occasion shall  
 require it. I therefore send my letter to Danville, in Kentucky  
 from thence to be forwarded through the wilderness and depos-  
 (4)  
 ited in the post office at Richmond".

On account of the competition with the French and Spanish  
 and the difficulty of navigating the Ohio River, also the lo-  
 cation of the Houses of the British Canadians the English re-  
 sorted to the old French routes which led from Canada into the  
 (5)  
 Indian County, chief among which were : --

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(1) Ohio Arch & His. Soc. Pub. XIV. See map p 393.

(2) Amer. Nation Series, Farrand, Livingston, Gasis of Amer.  
 History, vol. II , p 29.

(3) Roosevelt, T. Wining of the West, vol. III , p 113.

(4) Denny's Military Journal, 1781 - 1795, p. 448 - 49 Appen-  
 dix. p 224, note I.





1. By Green Bay , Lake Winnebago, and Fox River to Wisconsin thence to Mississippi.
- 2 By Chicago River, at southwest of Lake Michigan, to the Illinois , thence Mississippi.
3. By St. Joseph to the Wabash - thence the Ohio and Mississippi.
4. By St. Joseph River, southeast corner of Lake Michigan to the Kanakekee, and to the Illinois thence the Mississippi.
5. By Miami River from the West end of Lake Erie to the Wabash - thence the Ohio to the Mississippi River. These often corresponded to or were <sup>a</sup>parallel with the old Indian trails and offered splendid locations for the establishment of trading posts by the fur traders and agents who carried on traffic with the Indians. The location of the principal posts were - Port Miami, <sup>(1)</sup> about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Maumee River ; Fort Harmer, <sup>(2)</sup> at the mouth ~~of~~ (right bank) of the Muskwigum River ; Fort St. Clair, <sup>(3)</sup> was a mile north of the present town of Eaton, in Preble County, Ohio ; Fort Greenville, <sup>(4)</sup> on the present site of Greenville, Ohio ; Fort Chartres, a strong fortress between Quebec and New Orleans<sup>a</sup>, <sup>(5)</sup> located ninety miles north of the mouth of the Ohio River, and on the east bank of the Mississippi ; Kaskaskia, on a tributary, Kaskaskia (five miles from its mouth ) <sup>(6)</sup> of the Mississippi River ; Cahokia, five miles below the pres-

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(1) Ohio Arch. & His. Pub<sup>s</sup> ; Moorehead, W.K. "Military Posts in the State of Ohio", vol. III, p 301.

(2) Ohio Arch. & His. Pub<sup>s</sup> Moorehead, W.K. "Military Posts in the State of Ohio", vol. III p 302.

(3) Ohio Arch. & His. Pub<sup>s</sup> ; Moorehead, W.K. "Military Posts in the State of Ohio", vol. III p 304. (4) Ibid.

(5) Parkman, Martcalm and Wolfe, vol. 1 p, 44.

(6) May Allison's Thesis.





ent site of St. Louis ; Prairie du Chien on the east bank of the Mississippi River six miles above the mouth of the Quisou-  
 (1)  
 sing River ; Chicago, on the southwest shore of Lake Michigan ; and Montreal, at the mouth of Grand River which flows into the St. Lawrence River.

Any fur trading establishment however, rude and with the least permanency was called a Fort (2) as shown by a brief description of a few of them - Fort Detroit was a stockade of round piles, with a lining of palisades and bastions mounting a few canon ; (3) Fort Greenville was an irregular fortification, a depot for supplies and a rendezvous for the army ; (4) Fort Harmar was a regular pentagon, including three-fourth of an acre, surrounded with walls of large horizontal timbers. (5) One of the most elaborate forts was Fort William - the famous emporium and interior headquarters of the Northwest Company - located on Lake Superior. It was a stockade with walls fifteen feet high surrounding a large square in which were the council house, dining hall, sleeping apartment, lodging houses, ware houses, counting house, - doctor's office, powder magazine etc, while outside the wall were shipyards, gardens and various fields. (6) which belonged to the fort.

The hunting season opened in the Fall , at which time the Indians who had been congregated in their villages, (7) during

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(1) Edwards Papers , p 59. (2) Bancroft, His. of the Northwest Coast, vol. 27, p 482. (3) Ohio Arch. & His. Pub. ; Moorehead, W. K. "Military Posts in the State of Ohio, vol. III p, 304. (4) Ibid (5) Ibid.  
 (6) Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, vol. XXVII p, 481.  
 (7) Ohio Arch. 1897 - E. L. Taylor Centennial Address at Frank-  
 lington p, 87.



the summer, made preparations to go on their hunting expeditions. The day was set, the horses brought out furnished with pack-saddles, which were loaded with the requisite provisions, then the march began. The journey was made by the way of the hunting trails which led from the Indian villages to the huntinggrounds. Once upon the ground the parties separated and sought their respective territories. Having reached their destination a very secluded place was selected for the camp which was composed of wigwams, or "small huts built of saplings set firmly in the ground and bent together at the tops, forming a rounded frame. Through these were woven split poles and flexible branches, and the whole was covered in with leaves, reeds, bark or brush. ----- the villages thus formed were sometimes surrounded by a palisade of poles driven into the ground. Here the women, children and old men stayed and cared for the peltries, tallow, etc. while the young men hunted. The chief game hunted was - moose and deer around the northern part of Lake Superior and in the vicinity of Red Lake ; the elk on the ground between the Sioux and the Ojibway nations - at the headquarters of Wisconsin River, northern Michigan, near Chippeway, St. Croix and Red Rivers ; small game along the northern shores of the great lakes and buffalo, elk, red deer and wild fowls in Ohio. The richest hunting grounds were the lake regions of Wisconsin . The Leech Lake region and Sandy Lake region teemed with deer, bear, otter, beaver, muskrats, martin, fisher, racoon, and grey and red foxes.

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- (1) Hulbert, Historic Highways - Indian Throughfares, vol. II p 45 - 47. (2) Amer. Nation Series, Farrand, Livingston, Basis of Amer. History, vol. II p, 152.  
 (3) Geo. Copway, Indian Life and Indian History , p 33 .





the Ford du Lae Lake region teemed with moose, bear, martin,  
mink, muskrat, lynx, hedge hog, otter, and a few beaver. (1)

The animals taken chiefly for their furs were the beaver, otter, martin, fisher and lynx! The dressing of the skins was one of the Indians chief arts, - The skin was stripped and stretched tight, with fur side down, to some smooth surface so it could be dried by the heat of the sun, after which the flesh was removed by an adze. This must be done with great care so as not to cut the pelt. To facilitate the work the skin was soaked in a decoction of brains and water and rubbed with the hands or smooth stone as it dried, thus making it soft and (2) pliable. If the pelt was desired, the hair was removed by soaking the skin in an alkaline made from wood ashes and water, after which both sides were carefully treated. (3) After the furs and pelts had been well cured they were put into bundles of eighty-four or ninety pounds packs for transportation to the posts (4) where the traders were ready to purchase them.

The medium of exchange was generally wampum or some article of merchandise. (5) The wampum was introduced by the Dutch hence was used in the New England States first, later in the Northwest. The unit of measure was one fathom valued at sixty pence, this like other monies fluctuated in value - the white

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(1) Wis. His. Col. 1873 - 76; "Fur Trade and Factory at Green Bay 1816 - 1821". (2) Bancroft History of Northwest

Coast, vol. XXVII, p 413; American Nation Series, Farrand, Livingston, Basis of Amer History, vol. II p 328.

(3) American Nation Series, Farrand, Livingston, Basis of Amer. History, vol. II p, 329. (4) Bancroft, His. of Northwest Coast, vol. XXII, p 413. (5) Wm. Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England 1620 - 1789 vol. I, p 36 - 46.





beads generally twice the value of the black beads. The wampum was liable to counterfeiting against which Massachusetts passed a law which provided that perfect beads should be used and that they should be perfectly strung with known values - 1d, 3d, 12d, in white beads and 2d, 6d, 2s, 6d, and 10s, in black beads. This made a complete series of change equivalent to small coin. <sup>(1)</sup>

The beaver skin, valued at \$2 was more commonly used than wampum in the Northwest. <sup>(2)</sup> Some of the articles purchased with this medium were -:

1/2 pint powder	= 1 skin.
One beaver trap	= 4 skins
Twist tobacco	2 skins per fathom
30 balls	1 skin
large scalping knife	1/2 skin
sack of rice	2 skins
1 hatchet	1 skin
1 mocock of sugar (40 lbs)	4 skins
1 otter skin	2 skins.

The article, second in its utility as a currency, was lead. In 1816 Colonel George Davenport, who was engaged in trade with the Sauks and Foxes, shipped a flat cargo of lead to St. Louis to pay for his Indian supplies. The lead mines of the Northwest were located in the territory now known as Wisconsin and Illinois. According to Captain Phillip Pittman, this mineral was next to peltries the most important <sup>and</sup> valuable export of the

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- (1) Weeden, Econ. and Social His. of New England 620 - 1789, vol. I, p 36 - 36.  
 (2) Wis. His. Col. 1873 - 76 ; Thuaites, Evan's Pedestrious Tour, Vol. VIII p 230.



country. In 1788 Julien Dubuque obtained from a council at Prairie du Chien a formal permit "to work lead mines tranquilly and without prejudice to his labors". Congress tried in 1807 to regulate the sale and leases of these mines for a definite period of three or five years, But owing to the opposition of the Indians and the intrigues with the Canadians the effort was a failure. In 1810 efforts were made to break up the Canadian trade by introducing blacksmiths and improved tools' to encourage the Indian miners. During the period of 1815 - 1820 Captain John Shaw made eight trips with trading boats between St. Louis and Prairie du Chien and visited the Fever river mines several times where he saw Indians smelting lead. On one (1) visit he bought '70 tons and left much at the mines.

The old men and women did the mining. Owing to their rude implements, the work was carried on along the surface, seldom going into the hillside. The mineral was loaded into bags of deerskin which were hoisted to the surface or dragged up upon an inclined plain by long throngs of deer skin. The smelting of the ore was equally as crude. A trench was dug and was filled with wood upon which the mineral was thrown, so that it melted and ran on the ground cooling into shapeless pieces. The whites improved the Indian method by making a box of logs into which the ore was placed and then covered with wood the fire was set from the bottom, thus melting the metal which ran into trenches, extending from the bottom of the hole,

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(1) Thuaites, How Geo. Rogers Clark the west, ch. VII p, 311.





forming bars of sixty or eighty pounds.

The lead, like the furs, was sold at a very low price.

The French Canadians bought lead ore at the Galena mines rated  
(1)

a peck of ore worth a peck of corn. The cost of conveying  
lead was very cheap according to H. R. Schoolcraft's letter to  
John C. Calham in 1808, one hundred weight of lead from Ste.  
Genevieve to New Orleans, by steam boat, was only seventy cents  
(2)  
for a distance of one thousand miles.

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(1) Houch, History of Missouri, vol. III p 190.

(2) Thuaites - How Geo. Roger Clark upon the West ch. VII  
Wis. Hist. Colls. vol. VII p, 194  
" " " " XIII



## Chapter II

## The Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain 1790 - 1816.

The British, by the treaty of 1783, were to give up the trading posts located within the United States Territory. Some of the posts retained were Detroit Michigan ; Michilmakinak on Lake Huron ; Fort Erie on Lake Erie ; Niagria , Oswego and Oswegatchie in New York ; Pointe an Fer and Dutchman's Point on Lake Champlain.<sup>(1)</sup> Ostensibly the reason for this delay in giving up these places was due to the non- fulfilment of the treaty on the part of United States. According to agreement Congress recommended to the States, the just treatment of the loyalists with which most of the States refused to comply . The action of the States in placing obstacles in the way of collecting debts due to British merchants before the Revolution was another violation of the treaty. The real cause may be drawn from Sidney's approval of General Haldiman~~retaining~~ the posts, April 8, 1784 - " with regard to your refusing a complacance with the desire of Major - General Baron du Steuben for delivering up to him the posts within the limit of United States, ~~you~~ are certainly justified in every part of your proceedings, even if you had been in possession of the definitive treay of peace. The seventh article stipulates that they should be evacuated with all convenient speed, but no time is fixed, and , as America has not, on her part , complied with even one article of the treaty, I think we may reconcile it in

(1) Canadian Archives 1890 p XXXIII Report of Archiv. - Douglas Brynmen.





the present instance to delay evacuation of these forts, at least until we are enabled to secure the traders in the interior country and withdraw their property".<sup>(1)</sup> The value of trade as reported by Lieutenant - governor Hamilton , 1785, showed 180,000 pounds of furs of which 100,000 came from within the limits of United States territory.<sup>(2)</sup> Thus it is very evident that retaining the posts was due to a desire to control fur-trade which was profitable at that time as shown in the correspondence of Haldimand, Lord North and Sidney.<sup>(3)</sup>

The method used by the British to secure themselves was to obtain the loyalty of the Indians. Then, as in the days of English and French rivalry , "two powers were seeking to obtain a predominant influence with the Indians" which threw trade into a bad condition. The British government hoped, through her governors, to impress the Indians with the friendly disposition of the British toward them, to secure their friendship and confidence and to restore their losses caused during the war.<sup>(4)</sup> To accomplish this the government expended a vast sum in maintaining the posts and in giving presents to the Indians so as to have their co-operation in case the Americans should try to capture their (Ps) posts. The plan regulating the management of Indian Affairs was that given

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(1) McLaughlin A.C. "Western Posts and British Debts" in the Annals Report of Amer. Hist. Assoc. 1894 , p 433 - 444.

(2) Can. Arch. 1890 p, 50 note C.

(3) Can. Arch., Letter of Haldiman to Lord North May 12, 1784. Simcoe papers, vol. I p, 73 note I.

(4) Can. Arch, 1906 p, 547 note I.



in the Instruction to Guy Carleton 1775, Whereby the British dominions were divided into two districts - Northern and Southern with Superintendents, Deputies and Commissaries for each. The Commissary kept an exact Journal of the transactions of the post which he sent to the Superintendent through whom the Board of Trade and Plantation in England were informed of the conditions of the Indian affairs. (1) To facilitate the trade, efforts were made to regulate the commerce. The plan was that all ships carrying fur and merchandise on the Great Lakes should enter and clear the same as merchant vessels do, i.e., make regular entries of their shipment enumerating the articles specifically; Also the packages should be labelled - giving the quantity and quality of the merchandise to prevent carrying inferior goods to the posts. (2) The report, 1790, that inferior goods for the Indians were charged at the same price as those of the best quality resulted in a thorough examination of the goods and prices by which the charge to be true. (3) was found (4)

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(1) Colonial Official Records Canadian Arch. 1904 p 243.

(2) A Canoe Clearance 1802.

" Clearance of one canoe, the property of Rochelblase and Porlier, conducted by Lewis Grigan, bound for the Mississippi, having on board the following cargo, viz : six bales, one keg of powder, six kegs of sundries, seven bags of corn, two bags of flour and necessary sea stores.

District and Fort Mickililmackimac.

These are to certify that Rochelblase and Porlier have entered and cleared their canoe according to Law. Given under my hand and seal at the Custom House, this 20th day of July 1802.

David Duncan, Col'n.

(3) Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Coll. vol. 12 p 7.

(4) Can. Arch. 1790 p 217 ; Amer St. Papers vol. VI. Indian affairs vol. II.





The government orderd all the old posts to be repaired, to be properly supplied with stores and the goods to be sold at regulation prices <sup>(1)</sup>. Lastly a survey of a few of the requisitions will show the efforts and the expenses of the British government to maintain the Indian's friendship.

Requisition for stores proposed as presents for Indians resorting to the post of Michilimakimac for the year 1794. <sup>(2)</sup>

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Art sent in port				
20 prs. 1 pt.	One hundred pair of Blankets <sup>(3)</sup>			
	lpr, point 5s 6d	£ 27	10	6
7 1/2 doz. files	Six feather edged assorted		8	
	One dozen rettail do		9	
1000	Two thousand gun flints 12s	1	4	
4 doz. knives	Twenty dozen knives per gro			
	37s 8d	3	2	9 / 4
500 lbs. Shott	One thousand lbs. Shott per			
	cwt. 24s 6d	12	5	
<hr/>		<hr/>		
		Sterling lbs.	1263	10 5.5

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Michilmakimac 15 Sept. 1793

approved (signed) William Doyle . (signed) J. Lamothe  
 (signed) captain 24th Regt. Commanding Montreal. Interpreter

(1) Mich. Pioneer and Hist. coll. vol. 12 p, 23.

(2) Ibid p 8 ", 83 " " " 12, p, 82 - 83.

(3) "The point" was a short black stipe, about four inches long, woven into the Mackinaw blanket to indicate its weight ;

a 3 - pound blanket had three such stirpes. So a point was a pound in blankets, just as in cooking recipes " a pint's a pound, the world around".

Elliot Cones - Forty years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri . Vol. I p 13 ft. note 17 2vol.



(1)

Account of Provisions shipped and forwarded from the King's Magazine for the supply of Indians at Swan Creek from the eighth day of October to the eleventh of November 1794 .

Flour	79,560 1/2 pounds.
Pork	50,336 "
Beef Salt	840 "
Pease	124 1/8 bushels
Butter	3,400 pounds
Rice	4,900 "
Indian corn	2,920 bushels

Exclusive of the Corn delivered by Adam Brown.

(signed)

Thomas Reynolds  
A. Coming,

Indian Affairs N g VII





(1)  
Requisition

Requisition for stores proposed as presents for Indians resorting the Post of Amherstburg for the year 1799.

Arm Bands pairs thrity	at 15s	11d	£ 23	17	6
Axes half num ; Two hundred	2	6	25		
Beads pounds Two hundred		10 1/2	8	15	
Blankets 1 point pairs Two hundred	5	3	52	10	
Buttons Large gilt grs; Twelve	6		3	12	
Calico 3 colors pieces Seventy	4		147		
Ear bods pairs Four Thousand		13	216	13	4
Combs Horn Doz. Forty	2	4	4	13	4
Hats fine number Fifty	8		20		
Lead Bars pounds Two hundred		2	1	13	4
Looking Glasses number Thirty	4		6		
Ribbon Crimson pieces twenty	12	6	62	10	
Tobacco Carrot pounds Four Thousand		9	150		
Tomahawks number Five hundred		4	100		
Vermillion pounds Five hundred		4	100		
etc.					

			1		
Sterling	£	6,161	19	7.5	

Amounting to Six thousand one hundred and sixty one pounds nineteen shillings and seven pence half penny, stirling dollars at 4s 6d.

(Signed)

T. McKee  
S.I.A.

(signed)

A. McLean Captain  
2d Batt R.C.V. Coming

(c252 p 10 )

Peter Russel  
Pres'T

(1) Michigan Pioneer & Hist. Coll. XII p, 283 - 286.



To overcome the British policy to unite the Indians for a more effectual resistance to the Americans, the United States government made several treaties with them. The treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784) with the Iroquois and Six nations of Western New York to protect them, to secure their lands to them with the exception of a reservation at Fort Oswego and to supply them with goods. The following year, January 31, another Treaty, that of Fort McIntosh was made with the Wyandots and associated tribes of Western Pennsylvania whereby they relinquished all claims to the Ohio valley; and the United States reserved certain sites for trading posts, one of these was a two mile square tract of the lower rapids of the Sandusky River. <sup>(1)</sup> The success of these treaties is shown by a letter by Harmar, a United States military officer at Fort Harmar (Cincinnati), in which he urged that all these treaties would be in "vain and ineffectual until we take possession of the posts"; therefore, "the first grand object ----- would be to dispossess them, <sup>(2)</sup> and then we shall have the Indians friendly to our interests".

A great council of the Western tribes was held 1785 on the head water of the Big Miami to agree upon some concerted action against the inroads of the Whites. <sup>(3)</sup> To counteract this, Congress appointed commissioners to treat with the Wabash <sup>(4)</sup> Indians and on January 31, 1786, a

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(1) Ohio Arch. & Hist, Publ. XIII p, 208. (2) Denny's Military Journal, p 417, Letter of Harmar. (3) Smith St. Clair Papers II p 10. (4) Ibid





(1)

treaty was made whereby peace reigned for a few months. Through the diplomacy of Clark and St. Clair and the Acts of Congress regulating Indian Affairs war was postponed for a few years. In the mean time the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory was enacted. By Article III "The utmost good faith shall always be preserved toward the Indians ; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent ; and, in their property, rights and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed , unless in lawful wars authorized by Congress ; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to him and for preserving peace and friendship with them". One of the first duties of St. Clair, the first Governor under the Northwest Ordinance, was to negotiate a treaty of Peace with the Indians. In 1789 at Fort Harmar a Treaty was concluded with several tribes in the vicinity , whereby the Indians relinquished their claimes to a large part of Ohio and a few northern posts. (2) By Article VII - " Trade shall be opened with the said Nations and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to the persons and property of such as may be duly licensed to reside among them for the purposes of trade, and to their agents, factors and servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at their towns, or at their hunting camps, as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the Governor of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio, for the time being, or under

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(1) Vir. St. Papers IV p 22

(2) Smith's St. Clair Papers, vol. II p, 623



the hand and seal of one of his deputies for the management of Indian affairs ; to the end that they may not be imposed upon in their traffic, and if any person or persons shall intrude themselves without such license, they promise to apprehend him or them, and to bring them to the said Governor , or one of his deputies, for the purpose before mentioned, to be dealt with according to law ; and that they may be defended against persons who might attempt to forge such licenses, they further engage to give such information to the said Governor , or one of his deputies, of the names of all traders residing among them from time to time, and at least once in every year".<sup>(1)</sup> Since only certain tribes entered into this contract deeding their territorial claims to United States while other demanded that the whites retire to the south of the Ohio, a long Indian war ensued in which the natives received encouragement and actual support from the English.<sup>(2)</sup> While it is not claimed the "English ministry was a direct and intentional party to these mischievous machinations, it is certain that Canadian authorites and British agents engaged in them and that the principal - the home government in London could have known and did know, on account of American complaints against the intruders, and was thus really responsible if not immediately guilty".<sup>(3)</sup> The continued inroads of the Americans and the pernicious consul of the British caused many depredations to be committed along the Ohio and about Detroit which the United States government felt must be

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(1) Smith, St. Clair Papers , vol. III, p 623.

(2) Ohio Arch. & His. Pub., Randall, E.O. Ohio in early His. and during the Revol. vol. I, p, 426.

(3) Ohio Arch & His. Pub., Randall O.E. Ohio in early his. & during the Revol. vol. X, p 431.





stopped. Warrington's message, 1791, to St. Clair was to the effect - "An Indian war , under any circumstances, is regarded by the great mass of people in the United States as an event which ought, if possible, be avoided. -----

If the Indians refuse to listen to the messages of peace sent to them, it is most probable they will, unless prevented, spread themselves along the line of frontiers, for the purpose of committing all the depredations in their power,-----.

If no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place.

----- The Indians continuing hostile, you will seek the enemy and endeavor by all possible means, to strike them with great severity" .  
(1)

While preparations were being made to go against the Miami and associated tribes, Governor St. Clair informed Mayor Murray of Detroit that the expedition about to be made was not to be made against Detroit or any of the British posts but rather to chastise the Indians whose depredations had become intolerable.  
(2)

The English, anxious to prevent war, asked Dorchester to do all he could to make peace. If the United States should recommend good terms of peace, they (the English) wanted him to prevail upon the Indians to accept them and to help the natives to adjust the boundaries etc. so as to place Indian affairs upon firm basis. The aim was to secure to the Indians the peaceful and quiet possession of lands they held as hunting

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(1) Amer. State Papers V p, 171.

(2) Can. Arch. 1890 p 245 ; Amer St. Papers VI Indian affairs I p 76.



grounds and such other as they may need for their subsistence.

(1)

The English knew if the Indians were either extirpated from their countries or rendered insecure in the possession of them that their trade would be injured.

Several efforts were made by the United States to treat with the Indians in Council but to no avail since they demanded the Ohio, as the boundary line, which the Americans would not concede. The war continued until 1794 when General Wayne so completely defeated the Indians that all their hopes of checking the Americans had been blotted and with fear of United States government they were willing to make peace. The preliminary treaty of Greenville ( the American army was in winter quarters at Greenville) was made January 24, 1795 and the final treaty (2) August 2, 1795. After the battle of "Fallen Timbers (now Toledo) General Wayne explained to the Indians that United States had - conquered Great Britian and had a right to the Lake posts and that the new American government wished to make peace with the Indians, to protect them in the possession of their hunting grounds and to compensate them for the lands needed by the white people. The Indians represented at the Council of Greenville were - Wyandots, Delewares, Shawness, Ottawas, Chippenas, Pottawattomies, Miamies, Eel Rivers, Neas, Piamkeshaws, Kickapoos and Kaskaskias - who acquiesced in the greatest Peace Treaty made between United States and the Indians

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(1) Can. Arch. 1890 p, 175

(2) Can. Arch 1890 p, 300 ; Smiths, His. of Wis. p 205- 207.





(1)  
of the Northwest ; - whereby the later ceded and relinquished  
forever all their claims to the state of Ohio except the north-  
west corner comprizing about one-fourth of the State (2) which  
was held as an Indian Reservation, in return for which tye  
were allowed to occupy these lands - hunting, planting and (3)  
dwelling thereupon - under the protection of the United States .  
The government reserved a tract of 150,000 acres near the rap-  
ids of the Ohio which had been assigned to General Clark for the  
use of himself and his warriors. (4) The eight article provided  
for opening trade with the said Indians which must be carried  
on by licensed traders who pledged themselves to carry out the  
various trade laws enacted by Congress. (5) The importance of this  
Treaty was immense since it was the basis of United States leg-  
islation which gave a long period of quietude during which time  
arms were not taken up against the United States until just  
before the war of 1812. Perhaps the greatest agent in main-  
taining this peace was Governor Harrison who negotiated among  
treaties (6) with the Indians which contributed much to the domin-  
ion of the United States. This was in accordance with

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(1) Ohio Arch & His. Pub. Keeler, Lurey Elliot, "The Sandusky River", vol. XIII, p 208. (2) Ohio Arch & His. Pub. Randall O.E. "Ohio in Early History during the Revoltuion vol. X, p 432.  
(3) Amer State Papers VI, Indian Affairs vol. II. (4) Ibid  
(5) Ibid. (6) Some of these treaties were : August 13, 1803-  
Kaskaskia tribe ceded to United States all their lands in  
Illinois except 350 acres near Kaskaskia and the right to locate  
another tract 1280 acres in Illinois for an annuity of \$1000.  
August 18, 1804 - Delaware tribe gave the land between Ohio  
and Wabash Rivers for money consideration. August 27, 1804 -  
The Piankeshams relinquished their claims to the same territory.  
November 3, 1804 - The Sax and Fox Indians relinquished most  
of the present state of Wisconsin south of the Wisconsin River  
and west of Fox River of Illinois ; also a portion of northern  
Illinois and a considerable portions of Iowa and Missouri for  
a payment of goods and an annuity of \$1000. February 7,  
1806 - The Piankeshaw ceded to the United States



President Jefferson message - Oct. 17, 1803 - to confine the Indians to a designated territory and under self-government and to establish friendly and commercial relations with them. (1)

Almost contemporary with the treaty of peace of Greenville was the Jay Treaty between United States and England which provided for the evacuation of the British posts by June 1, 1796. There was to be free trade and protection to all British traders living there until the appointed time when they were to declare their intentions of remaining loyal to England or becoming citizens of the United States. Articles III "Agreed it should at all times be free to his majesty's subjects and to the citizens of United States, and also to Indians dwelling on either side of the boundary line, assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States, freely to pass and repass, by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the two contracting parties, ----- and to navigate all the lakes, rivers and waters thereof, and freely carry on trade and commerce with each other, subject to provisions and limitations continued in the said articles without duty or entry, no over tolls or freights shall be paid". (2)

Although the treaty of peace yielded the Indian claims to the Northwest Territory to the United States, still a portion

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the tract of land lying between Wabash River and the tract ceded by the Kaskaskia tribe 1803.

- (1) Amer. State Papers, Foreign Affairs, vol. I p 62.
- (2) Treaties and Conventions between United States and other Powers 1776 - 1887.





of the dissatisfied tribes sought the aid of the English to regain their hunting grounds or to stay the westward tide of movement. The British traders notwithstanding Jay's Treaty, helped to form marauding parties and gave mischievous counsel which tended to strain the relation between the United States and the Indians and the United States and Great Britain which resulted in war of 1812. One of the most influential agents was Robert Dickson, who was located at Prairie du Chien. His success, influence, and power were known through out the country. In 1811 Ninian Edwards, governor of the Indian Territory, wrote the Secretary of War that "Dickson hopes to engage all the Indians in opposition to the United States by making peace between the Chippeuas and Sioux and having them declare war against us".<sup>(1)</sup> A letter dated Dec. 19, 1812 contains a request to the English government to allow Dickson to bribe the Indians to join the English against the United States,<sup>(2)</sup> which shows she was—as in 1790 — still indirectly engaged in inciting the Indians against the United States.

The Indians—armed — assembled under Tecumseh and his brother, the prophet, at their camp at the junction of the Wabash and Tippacanoë. The battle of Tippacanoë was fought and won by the Americans under general Harrison November 7, 1811. Immediately, Tecumseh concluded alliance with the British for support in resisting the Americans. After the seize of Fort Meigs, April 1-10, 1813 General Harrison held a conference at Franklinton

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(1) Wis. His. Col., vol. XII.

(2) Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Col. XV p 204, Letter of James McGill, John Richardson and W. Mc Gillivray to Geo. Prevost, gov'r Gen. of Can.



with the principal chiefs of the tribes which had remained true to the Greenville Treaty. The result was a second Greenville Treaty concluded June 9, 1815 whereby - the tribes gave their aid to United States, and were taken under the protection of her government. (1) After the war the English policy was to locate their posts upon the frontier so as to continue trade and friendly relations with the Indians. Their plan was to build military Forts near the American stores for Trade, so they could compete with the Americans - thus destroy their trade. (2) The British traders continued to go into the Indian Territory located within the United States until the passage of the Act of April 29, 1816 by which United States forbade foreigners to participate in fur trade in United States except in subordinate capacities under American traders. (3)

Regardless of the warfare with the Indians and the British the exports in furs and peltries were no mean portion in the commerce of United States 1791 - 1816. The average value of these articles exported from United States 1791 - 1803 was about \$300,000 ∴.

The value for the years 1803 - 1816 were

1803	\$500,000	1810	\$177,000
1804	956,000	1811	314,000
1805	967,000	1812	123,000
1806	841,000	1813	58,000
1807	852,000	1814	22,000
1808	161,000	1815	409,000
1809	332,000	1816	553,000 (4)

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(1) Ohio Arch vol. XIII p 127. (2) Mich. Pioneer and Hist Coll XVI p 67. (3) Chittenden His. of the Amer Fur Trade of the Far west vol. I p 310. (4) Tim Pitkins, Statistical view of the Commerce of U.S. of American p 49 - 50.





## Chapter III

## The Northwest Trading Company.

The most characteristic feature of the English Commerical policy was the trade monopoly granted the trading companies. These had communication with the British trading posts located within the Indian Territory belonging to the United States. The two most important ones were the Hudson Bay Company chartered in the seventeenth century and the Northwest Company which was organized and existed during the English occupancy. The latter was the out-growth of the old French trade in the region of the Upper Lakes and the valley of the St. Lawrence River with its center of operation at Montreal. <sup>(1)</sup> The individual traders who had privately traded alone formed a stock Company, 1780, composed of sixteen members; <sup>(2)</sup> the same year a conspiracy of Indians to massacre the whites and to pillage the villages and posts was discovered and overt. <sup>(3)</sup> The following year a terrible small pox scourge impaired the Indian trade by depopulating the country so that longer and more dangerous excursions, requiring more men, more boats, and more goods, must be made into the Indian country which was accomplished through the agency of the Northwest Company 1783 - 1787. <sup>(4)</sup> At first the company, <sup>was</sup> only partially formed to run for a period of five years but due to the competition with the Hudson Bay Company it per-

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(1) Chittenden, His. of Amer. Fur trade of the Far West, vol. I part II, p 83 - 88. (2) A Mackenzie, voyages through North America p XVII, Johns Hopkins Univer Studies, Turner, Fredz "The Character and Influence of Indian Trade in Wis". vol. IX, p 51. (3) Ibid. (4) Bancroft, His of the Northwest Coast vol. XXVII, p 18.



ected to organization in 1787 and continued in existence until 1812 when it was united with said company .  
(1)

When organized, the company had no capital. Each party furnished a proportion , or quota of such articles and labor as were necessary to carry on trade - the Montreal partners who were merchants outfitted the canoes with goods while the men experienced in the trade of the west led the parties.  
(2)

Thus the former acted as agents to sell the furs, while the latter acted as wintering partners to barter for the furs with the Indians.  
(3)

At first the net returns were as small as £ 40,000 a year , still this gave a nice income to the sixteen partners.  
(4)

The first charge against the proceeds were the wages of the voyageurs, next the "cost of the goods was deducted - \$3 000 a canoe - and in the early days ninety canoes a year were sent North".  
(5)

As the Company became more firmly established it sent out more canoes, hence greater net returns so that by 1787 shares were valued at £ 800 each. Later, 1797, when it had almost complete monopoly its net returns increased to £ 120,000 and £ 200,000.  
(6)

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- (1) Bancroft, His. of Northwest Coast, vol. XXVII, p 558.  
 (2) Chief among the Montreal agents were Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher, Mc Gill, Todd, Holmes and Simm McTearish ; among the wintering partners were Peter Pond, the Mc Gillivrays, the McLeods, Grants and Mc Donalds (Agnes C. Laut, the Conquest of the Great Northwest , vol. I p 401)  
 (3) Agnes C. Laut, The Conquest of the Great Northwest , Vol. 1, p 399, A. Mackenzie, the Voyages through North America, p XVII. (4) A Mackenzie, Voyages through North America p XXII.  
 (5) A Laut, The Conquest of the Great Northwest, vol. I p 400.  
 (6) Ibid





(1)

The articles of trade from England were received at Montreal from whence they were distributed to Detroit, Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie and Grand Portage as depots for the minor posts. Montreal was a small picketted enclosure, mounted with cannon, located upon an island of the same name - at the mouth of the Grand River which flows into the St. Lawrence River. It was the emporium of the Upper country, the residence of the principal agents of the Northwest Company and was accessible to the large vessels from the ocean. (2) The frontier post of Detroit was beautifully located on the semi-circular bend of the Detroit river which connects Lake Erie and Lake Huron. The Fort and Cantonment located forty rods west of main street were examples of neatness in appearance, order and discipline. (3) Mr. Thuaites describes it - " as a rule, the curtains were gaured at the four corners by solidly built blockhouses serving as bastions, these houses being generally two stories in height and pierced for rifles and cannon. One or more

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- (1) The slowness of carrying on the fur commerce is shown by a statement of a supposed order for 1798 by A. Mackenzie.  
 "The orders for the goods are sent to this country 25th Oct. 1796  
 They are shipped from London March 1797.  
 They arrive in Montreal June 1797  
 They are made up in the course of that Summer and winter  
 They are sent from Montreal May 1798.  
 They arrive in the Indian country and are exchanged for furs the following winter 1798 - 9.  
 Which furs come to Montreal Sept. 1799.  
 and are shipped for London, where they are sold in March, and April, and paid for in May or June 1800.  
 (A Mac Kenzie, Voyages through North American p XXIV.  
 (2) Thuaites IX, Flint's Letters from America.  
 (3) Thuaites VIII, Eran's Pedestrious Tour, p 214 - 220.



of the curtains were formed by the rear walls of a row of log-cabins, the others being composed of palisades, great logs standing on end, the bottoms well buried in the ground and the tops sharp-pointed; around the inner edges of these wooden ramparts the roofs of the cabins formed a gallery, on which crouched those of the defenders who were not already engaged in the block-houses. The heavy timbered gate, with its massive forged hinges and bolts, was guarded with particular tenacity. In the event of the enemy forcing this, or making a breach in the curtains by burning or scaling the palisades, the block-houses were the last towers of refuge, around which the contest waged to the bitter end. (1) Post Michillimakinac was situated upon the isthmus, about one hundred thirty leagues long and twenty two leagues wide, which connected Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. This post was of great importance since it intercepted the trade of the Indians of the Upper country from Hudson Bay to Lake Superior and the place of departure to Grand Portage, the rendezvous for voyageurs. (2) Mackinaw was a palisaded trading post with small groups of inhabitants, voyageurs and coureurs de bois who were temporary settlers for the purpose of fur-trade. (3) Grand Portage, an important trading post on Pigeon River, was the distributing point for the inland trade. Masson (Masson papers in the Mc Gill Univ. Library)

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- (1) Thuaites, How Geo. Rogers Clark won the West, p 13 - 14.  
 (2) " II, J. Long's Voyages and Travels, p 51.  
 (3) Thuaites, How Geo. Rogers Clark won the West, ch IV.





describes its appearance in 1793 - " The Grand Portage is situated at the bottom of a shallow bay, perhaps three miles deep and about one league and a half wide at its mouth from Pointe aux Chapeau to Pointe a' la Framboise. The pickets are not above fifteen to twenty paces from the water's edge. Immediately back of the fort is a lofty round sugar-loaf mountain, the base of which comes close to the picket on the North west side. Within the fort are sixteen buildings, with cedar and white spruce floors, squared timber frames, and shingle roofs. Six of these buildings are store-houses for merchandise and furs etc. The rest are dwelling-houses, shops, computing house, and mess-house. They have also a wharf for their vessels to load and unlode".<sup>(1)</sup> Sault Ste Marie - Falls of St.

Mary - was a small picketted fort built by the Indians on Lake Superior. Late in the seventeenth century it was abandoned in favor of Mackinaw, but continued to be a post on the trading route until 1814 when the Americans destroyed it.<sup>(2)</sup>

The methods of drawing the Indian trade from the Hudson Bay Company to these head quarters were - by depreciating the company's goods and magnifying the advantages gained by trading with the Northwest Company ; by establishing posts and by the use of intoxicating liquors. The success of this Corporation is shown from Robert Dickson's, a partner of the Northwst

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(1) Lawrence J. Burpee, The Search for the Western Sea p 306-07  
 (2) Thwaites II, J. Long's Voyages and Travels, p 51.  
 Thwaites, How Geo. Rog. Clark won the West, p 249 note 2



Company, description of thier network of posts and adventurous operations - " They by a late purchase of the King's Posts extend thier line of trade from Hudson Bay to the St. Lawrence up that river on both sides to the Lakes;----- to the Missouri ----- ; and this year (1805) have dispatched a Mr. Mackenzie on a voyage of trade and discovery down Mackenzie's river to the North Sea and also a Mr. Mc Coy to cross the Rocky mountains and proceed to the Western Ocean with the same objects in view".<sup>(1)</sup>

The Northwest Company and employees were composed of Canadian born subjects - men whose native energy and thorough acquaintance with the Indian character and whose love of adventure - qualified them for the hardships of fur traffic. This trapping fraternity (Chittenden) was composed of bourgeois, <sup>(2)</sup> partisan, clerk, mangeurs and voyageurs-boatmen or engagees. The bourgeois had charge of the trading post, had military discipline and administrative work, hence had great responsibility. The second in importance was the clerk who, in the absence of the burgeois, did his work; sometimes the leading ones were stockholders in the Company but generally only salaried employees. The partisan was the leader of the field expedition directing the engagees; also the hunters, trappers, artisans and camp keepers - mangeurs de lard or raw recruits, who did the heavy, common labor and were bound under the most vigorous engagement for a period of five years and at very low wages.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Wis. Hist. Coll XII p 137.

(2) Chittenden, The His. of the Amer. Fur trade of the Far West, vol. I ch. VII

(3) Chittenden, The His. of the Amer Fur trade of the Far West, vol. I, p 57.





The engagees or boatmen were rough and hardy men yet with cheerful disposition. They took an oath in the strongest language "never to leave their duties assigned them by day or night under penalty of forfeiting their wages ; to take charge of and safely keep the property put into their trust and to give notice of any portending evil against their employers, or their interests that should come to their knowledge. (1)

The oath having been taken, preparations were made for the voyage. The trading birch canoe was forty feet long, three feet deep and five feet wide and could float four tons of freight and yet could be carried over the portages by four men. The crew consisted of eight men at a salary of \$100 to \$160 ; two of them, one at the bow and the other at the stern, being especially skilled in the craft of handling the paddles in rapids received higher wages than the rest. The canoe was filled with the provisions (3) for the long expedition and the votive offerings were hung in the chapel of Saint Anne, patron saint of voyages. (4) It was very difficult to make a start on these voy-

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(1) Wis. His. col, vol. 2. John Hopkins Univer. Studies, IX Fred J. Turner - "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wis. p 53 note 1.

(2) Hopkins Univer Studies IV, F.J. Turner - The Character Influence of the Indian Trade in Wis. p 52 - 53.  
A Mackenzie, Voyages through North American, p XXIV.

(3) The load consisted of, eight or ten men in each canoe, and their baggage; and sixty-six packages of goods, six hundred weight of biscuit, two hundred weight of pork, three bushels of pease, for the men's provision ; two oil cloths to cover the goods, a sail, etc. and axe, a training-line, a kettle, and a sponge to bail out the water, with a quantity of gum, bark and watape to repair the vessel." (A Mackenzie, voyages through N. Amer. p XXVII)

(4) Hopkins Univer. Studies IX, article by F.J. Turner, p 54 A Mackenzie, Voyages through North Amer., p XXIX.



ages as the employees usually spent several days in frolic -  
 (1)  
 a drunken condition - with their friends before the departure.  
 Once started upon their journey they engaged in their Canadian  
 songs which are characteristic of the voyageurs. They stopped  
 every ten miles for a three minute smoke and rest and when a  
 portage was made it was reckoned in "pauses" by which is meant  
 (2)  
 the number of times the men must stop to rest".

At the close of the hunting season the traders and the  
 trappers of the surrounding country met at a rendezvous lo-  
 cated in a Central place where they exchanged goods, made  
 plans for the next season and engaged in hilarity. Some of the  
 more important partners of the Northwest Company were - Robert  
 Dickson, a man of great influence, whom Pike characterized in  
 1805 as " a gentleman of commercial knowledge and possessing  
 much geographical knowledge of the western country and of open  
 (3)  
 frank manner" ; David Thompson, a scientist who was early in  
 the employ of the Hudson Bay Company, which discouraged this  
 interest , so he joined the Northwest Company where he had more  
 scope for his talent. Mr. George Mc Tavish and Angus Shaw  
 (1)  
 were wintering partners of the Corporation ; Mr. Mc Kay  
 a great favorite with the Indians, was more an explorer than  
 qualified as a merchant ; he accompanied Mac Kenzie to the  
 (2)  
 Pacific 1793 ; Mr. A. Mackenzie commanded an expedi-  
 tion into the interior discovering rivers

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- (1) Thuaites, VI ; Faux's Journal p 32.  
 (2) Hopkins Univer Studies IX articles by F. J. Turner , p 54.  
 A. Mackinzie Voyages through North America, p XXIX.  
 (3) Wis. Hist. Coll, vol. XII, p 253, ft.-note.  
 (4) Thuaites VI, Faux's Journal p 253 ft-note.  
 (5) " VI, Faux's Journal p 282 ft. note 295 ft-note.  
 (6) " I Weiser Crogham Post Morris, p 41.





(1)  
and lakes and developing the fur-trade ; Alexander Henry ,  
a fur trader and traveller, was in the service of the Northwest  
Company about Twenty-five years and at the time of his death,  
1814, was one of the ablest officers of the Corporation. (2)

The agents and working corps of these forts were men to  
whom thrift was unknown and were very dishonest when in the  
Indian country where they used all kinds of strategy to belittle  
one another in the Indians estimation. Chittenden characterizes  
them thus - " The nature of service in the wilderness produced  
its effect in the physiognomy, language, habits and dress of  
the hunter ". (3)

The Northwest Company had a desperate struggle for its ex-  
istence . When it was organized 1783 - 84 , the management  
of the whole was entrusted to the Frobishers and Sinin Mc Tavish  
who had great interest and influence in the western country.  
This was approved by all the partners except Mr. Peter Pond  
who was not satisfied with the share allotted to him. Accord-  
ingly he and another gentleman - Mr. Peter Pangman, who for  
some reason had not been asked to become a partner of the Com-  
pany, went to Canada with a determination to set up a rival  
Company. They were joined by Gregory, Mac Leod, Alexander  
Mackenzie, Ross and Finley who were enthusiastic over the project .  
In the mean time Pond was won over by the Northwest Company so  
never took an active part in the operations of the new Corpor-  
ation. (4)

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(1) Thuaites II J. Long's Voyages and Travels, p 15. (2)  
Lawrence J. Burpee, The Search for the Western Sea, ch. I part  
III. (3) Chittenden, His of the Amer Fur trade of the Far  
West, vol I ch. VII. (4) A. Mackenzie, Voyages through North  
America, p XVIII - XIX.









This force, now composed of twenty partners, constituted the strongest financial, social and political interests in Upper Canada. No independent merchant tried to trade in their territory because it would be much cheaper and more advantageous for him to throw his interests with them than to risk it on his own account. In Montreal "The Beavers Club was the partners' social rendezvous, and "coveted were the social honors of its exclusive membership. Governor and councillors, military heroes and foreign celebrities counted it an honor to be entertained at the Beaver Club with its lavish table groaning under the weight of old wines from Europe and game from the Pays d'en Hant".<sup>(1)</sup>

The partnership was kept up by the concern at large, as no person could be admitted as a partner who had not served his time to the trade. When a man wished to retire he could name some clerk as his successor which must be according to seniority and merit or the transaction would not be acknowledged by his associates. The former partner was discharged from all duty and became a dormant partner, so that the young men, after an apprenticeship of five or seven years, succeeded in succession to the character and advantages of partners. This regular and equitable mode of providing for the clerks of the company caused them to execute their duties more faithfully and their success was immediately connected with that of their employers which meant the success of the Company.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Agnes Laut, The Conquest of the Great Northwest, vol. I p 402.  
 (2) A. Mackenzie, Voyages through North America, p XXI, XXII.



In 1798 the Northwest Company underwent a change - the shares were increased to forty six, new partners were admitted and others retired. At this time a number of dissatisfied men with Alexander MacKenzie and Mr. Mc Tavish as leaders formed (1) a new Company known as X Y Company. The state of hostility and the unregulated competition existing between these factions and toward the Hudson Bay Company led to acts of violence and a state of affairs almost intolerable so that efforts were made to bring about reconciliation. In January , 1802, Sir Alexander Mac Kenzie who was in London for this purpose laid proposals before Lord Hobart, the Colonial Secretary, " for the establishment of a permanent fishery and trade in furs, etc, in the interior and on the West coast of North America" - (2) which would have been carrying out his favorite idea of establishing a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans had it succeeded. The fourth clause of the Preliminaries presented was " To grant these licenses to a company of British Merchants to be established in London under the name of "The Fishery and Fur Company", which company for the purpose of combining the Fishery , in the Pacific with the Fur trade of the Interior from the East to the West coasts of the Continent of North America would at once equipping (equip) whalers in England, and

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(1) This company was variously known as "The Potties" from "Les Petits", and "the XY's " from the stamp on their pelts, X Y, to distinguish them from the "N .W." (Agnes C Laut, The Conquest of the Great North West, vol. II, p 68. (2) Can. Arch, 1892 p 34 Report of Archivist - Douglas Brymner .





by means of the establishments already made and in activity at Montreal on the East and advanced posts and Trading Houses in the Interior towards the West Coast to which they might extend it and where other establishments to be made at King George Sound, Wootka Island, under the protection of the Supreme Government and on the River Columbia and at Sea Otter Harbour under the protection of subordinate Governments of these places would open and establish commercial communication through the continent of North America between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans to the incalculable advantage and furtherance both of the Pacific Fishery of America and Americas Fur Trade of Great Britain, in part directly and in part indirectly, ----- it being perfectly understood that none of these maritime or inland establishments shall be made on territory in possession of any other European Nation, nor within the limits of the United States of North America or of the Hudson's Bay Company . (1)

Mr. MacKenzie anticipated difficulties in bringing about such a coalition of the companies at Montreal because he provided that those who were unwilling to enter into the company might carry on the fur trade under a license as a means of protection for the companies and the private trades .

At first these dissension did not seem to effect the traffic since in Oct. 30, 1802, Miles dispatch to Lord Hobart showed an increased trade, new countries had been visited where a new source of supplies were found . The report showed the number

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(1) Canadian Arch 1892 p 36



of posts occupied in the Indian Territory, the number of partners, clerks and interpreters and common men employed - 117 posts, 20 partners, 161 clerks and interpreters, 877 common men i.e., a staff of 1058 men with 95 of these located in the United States territory. (1)

Owing to the death of Mr. Mc Tavish, the X Y Company united with the Northwest Company 1805. To overcome their success the Superintendent of Indian affairs for Upper Louisiana issued a Proclamation Aug. 25, 1805 forbidding the entry of traders and others not citizens of United States into the Missouri River, thus forcing the British traders to become citizens of United States or to be excluded from the trade. Since they had paid the duties at Michilmakinak, the frontier post, and had received no warning of such a restraint, when this restriction was enacted at St. Louis the traders regarded it as confiscation of their goods and held that this Proclamation was a violation of the Treaty of amity between United States and Great Britain 1794. They presented a memorial to the effect "That by said treaty" (of amity and commerce) "the trade with the Indians within the Territory of Great Britan and the United States respectively is declared to be open and free to the subjects and citizens of their respective governments, and no distinction whatever as made, because of the allegiance which subjects and citizens owe and ought to bear to their particular governments. This memorial which was never acted upon by the British Government was based upon the third article of the Treaty of 1794 which "provided that it should at all times be free to His majesty's subjects, to the citizens of the United States and to the (1) Canadian Arch 1892 p, 36





Indians dwelling on either side of the boundary line, to pass and repass by land or inland navigation into the respective countries of the two nations (the Hudson Bay territory being excepted) to navigate the lakes, etc, and "freely to carry on commerce with each other".<sup>(1)</sup>

The Calendars including 1806 show nothing had been done with the traders report .

The rivalry between the Northwest and the Hudson Bay companies became civil war at which time fur trading was carried on by raids upon one another, under the pretense that the furs were a debt due the raider. At first the Northwest Company, due to its superior organization, was the stronger, Later they found a very able opponent in Thomas Douglas - better known as Lord Selkirk - who had taken advantage of the dire position of the Hudson Bay Company and purchased, (1809) stock to the amount of £ 40 000 for himself and £ 20 000 for his relatives,<sup>(2)</sup> thus he became a leading director of the Corporation. Through the advise and suggestions of Colin Robertson, a Northwest Clerk who had been dismissed from their service - now a friend of Lord Selkirk, the Company changed its entire system of trade - hired Frenchmen from Quebed to fight the Northwesters, equipped expeditions for the North, abolished bartering, kept accounts, paid their corp stipulated wages - superintendents, £ 400 a year ; factors, £ 150 ; traders, £ 100 ; Clerks, £ 50,<sup>(3)</sup> and had its rights valiated.

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(1) Ibid . (2) Agnes C Laut, The Conquest of the Great Northwest, vol. II p, 77.

(3) Agnes C Laut, The Conquest of the Great Northwest , vol. II, ch XXVI.



Now that the company was again upon good working basis and able to compete with its rival, Lord Selkirk took the next step to carry out his great ambitions in laying his scheme for colonization along Red River before the General Court, May 1811. In return for the large grant (larger than British Isles and extended south of Manitobato include one half of Minnesota) Selkirk bound himself to supply the Hudson Bay Company with two hundred "servants a year for ten years and guaranteed that the Colony should not interfere with the Company's fur trade. This grant divided the North west Territory hence was strongly opposed by this company. Lord Selkirk felt he was master over this territory and ordered Captain Miles Mac Donell, commander of the Colony, to issue a proclamation - January 8, 1814, which prevented the rival company trading here. This resulted in the North Westers, through Cameron, persuading many dissatisfied Scotchman to leave Red River, then the arrest of Mac Donell, January 21, 1814 ; and finally the burning of the Colony Buildings, i. e. the extermination of Selkirk's Colony. But the place was re-established at once by Colin Robertson and Robert Semple the new Governor , when another civil war ensued. In May , 1817 a Royal Proclamation was issued which commanded both companies to desist from disorders - and to restore each others property. The British government, which was responsible for the disasters by granting indefinite charters to the two companies, threw out an unofficial notice if they would combine it would remove the necessity of her determining which company

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(1) Agnes C. Laut, The Conquest of the Great Northwest, vol. II, ch XXVII





(1)  
possessed the alleged rights. The question of Chartered rights was carried to Parliament in 1819 for settlement, the result of which was a final coalition of the two companies in 1821 under the name of the Hudson Bay Company with George Simpson as Governor.  
(2)

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(1) Agnes C. Laut, The Conquest of the Great North west, vol. II, p 193 - 195. (2) Can arch.1892 The Report of Archiv Douglas Breymner.



## Chapter IV

### The Trading House System

The historic trading post has always been a forerunner of civilization. Its influence has been either elevating or destructive according to the kind of culture which accompanied it - as the Phoenician post fostered the development of the Medieval civilization;" The Roman post left the Roman Roads ; the Dutch and English posts - established commercial relations in South Africa, while the American post exploited the native, and paved the way for the entrance of civilization into the Northwest.

The methods of procuring articles of Indian trade were by hired hunters, free traders and by direct traffic with the Indian. The hired hunters worked for the companies and were usually very successful. The free traders who were working on their own account became so lawless that the United States government , as did the French with the "coureurs des Bois" , required each trader to take out a license to carry on traffic with the Indians. Their success was due to the credit-system which they practiced by entrusting the Indians with \$40 - \$50 worth of goods for the hunt, then following them to the hunting grounds where the trader received furs on the debt. The direct traffic was the most common method - the English carried it on through her companies which established trading posts through-out the country, while the characteristic feature under the American government was the Trading Houses which originated with the early legislation of the Colonies .

The Continental Congress appreciated the necessity of





regulating the Indian Affairs as shown by their act of January 27, 1776 which was the basis of all future legislation ; -

"In order to preserve the confidence and friendship of the Indians, and to prevent their suffering for want of necessities of life, a suitable assortment of Indian goods, to the amount of £ 40 000 sterling, be imported on account of risk of the United Colonies. -----

That no person shall be permitted to trade with the Indians without license from one or more of the commissioners of each respective department. That all traders shall dispose of their goods at such fixed reasonable prices, - - - , and shall allow the Indians a reasonable price for their skins, or furs, and take no unjust advantage of their distress and intemperance ; - - - - That to such license traders only, the respective commissioners shall deliver the goods, so to be imported , in such proportions as they shall judge will best promote a fair trade and relieve the necessities of the Indians. That every trader, on receiving the goods, shall pay to the commissioners in hand, the price at which they shall be estimated ; and the commissioners shall - - - - transmit the same to the continental treasury, - - - "

The ninth article of the Articles of Confederation( July 9, 1778) gave Congress " sole and exclusive right of regulating the trade and managing the affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States ; provided that the legislative

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(1) Journals of Congress Jan. 1776 - Dec. 1776 p 41.



right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated"

The first Congress under the new Constitution passed an act July 22, 1790 to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians . The act required every one wishing to trade to take out a license under the seal of the Superintendent, to observe the laws made by the Congress of United States regulating the trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes ; it also gave the Superintendent power to recall or renew licenses .  
(1)

The second session of Congress 1795 passed an Act "for establishing the Trading House for the purpose of supplying the Indians Nations within the territory of the United States". So grave was the issue that one member of Congress, Mr. Murray proposed they devote Sunday to its consideration as the time was so short and its importance was suited to the solemnity of the day .  
(2)

The "trading house" originated in the early part of the seventeenth century when the Court of Boston passed an Act - " that there shall be a trucking house appoyñcted in every plantation, wither the Indians may resorte to trade, to avoide there comeing to sewall houses"  
(3)

In 1694 the general court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed an act for regulating trade at the charge of and with the publick stock in their majestics treasury within this province and for the benefit and advantage of the same. -----  
No persons or persons whatsoever, other than those to be em

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(1) Annals of Congress 1790 Appendix. (2) Annals of Congress 1795.  
(3) Hopkins vol. 12 p 493, Art by J A. James on Eng. Institutions and the American trade.





ployed afresaid shall directly or indirectly truck, buy, sell or trade with any Indian or Indians under penalty of 50 £ and forfeiture of goods<sup>(1)</sup>. It gave a discription of the "Trading House System by which truck masters were to be appointed by the treasurer and the commissioner of impost ; had a stated salary and were not to engage in trade on their own account ; were to carry out the instruction enacted from time to time by the Governor and his council and to render on account of business to the General Court.

In 1751 Franklin saw that public Trading Houses would certainly be a great help towards regulating the private trade and preventing the impositons of private traders, therefore urged they should be established at suitable places along the frontiers<sup>(2)</sup>. Within two years he was appointed agent among the Indians on the Ohio , when owing to the complaints of mis-treatment he asked James Boudoin of Boston for a copy of their "truck-house" law and an account of its workings . Thus he transferred the Massachusetts system to Pennsylvania in 1753 which ultimately led to the general government accepting the plan<sup>(3)</sup>. In 1775 Congress appointed a committee, of which Franklin was a member, to draw up a plan for tradẽ with the Indians - whereby a sum of £ 140 000 sterling was appropriated for the purchase of goods to carry on Indian trade and provision was made which restricted trade to those under license and bond.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Hopkins vol. I & 2 p 493 , J. A. James art. "English Institutions and America Indians.

(2) Bigelow ed - Franklin vol. II p 221.

(3) Hopkins vol. 12 p 494, J. A. James' art - English , Institutions and Amer Indian.

(4) Calhoun.s report of Repres. Dec. 8, 1818.



The Indian Territory was divided into two districts, 1786. the Ohio river being the division line between the northern and southern districts. The duties of the Superintendents and deputies were to execute the regulations which Congress may establish ; to correspond with the Secretary of War through whom Congress received the conditions of the Indian Affairs ; to grant licenses ( no foreigners being able to obtain one) to traders and to refrain from engaging in trade. The Act of 1790<sup>(1)</sup> allowed foreigners to obtain licenses.

Washington in 1791 - 92 urged the need of promoting and regulating commerce with the Indians and in 1793 he advocated the establishment of the government Trading Houses. Thus it can be seen that the leading men of the day felt this trade must be operated under some regulated system. Washington appointed a Committee to consider the expediency of investing \$100 000 and appointing agents for the supply of Indian Trade , whose report was " that the establishment of the Trading House under the direction of the President would have most excellent results ".The plan suggested was to have salaried agents to buy the articles for the trade, take oath and give bond for faithful service and report to the Secretary of Treasurer of United States through whom Congress would be informed the trade conditions.<sup>(2)</sup> The objects of the Congressional policy in dealing with the Indians were - 1. The protection of the frontiersmen from the Indians , by means of an army ; the protection of the Indians from the frontiersmen by laws regulating

(1) Ibid.  
p 324

(2) Amer State Papers - Indian Affair vol. I





settlement ; the detachment of the Indians from foreign influence, by the Trading Houses where goods could be gotten cheaper .

In accordance with the Law establishing the trading Houses, an appropriation of \$50 000 was made December 16, 1795, to carry it out ; again in February 1796 another appropriation  
(1)  
of \$150 000 was made thus beginning the system of trade by public factors but without superceeding the original mode of carrying on trade by ~~license~~ which was one of the principal reasons for its failure. A kind of disappointment or dis-interedness characterized the early period of the Trading Houses existence, since the act authorizing this trade was allowed to expire March 3, 1799. When the Legislature was considering its revival President Jefferson in discussing the issue expressed a fear that it would not be revised ; he also recommended introducing new modes of living to show the Indians that the forests were not essential to their livelihood thus alleviating their jealousy of the Americans acquiring so much  
(2)  
of their territory. The act was revised and approved April 30, 1802 - "Be it enacted - that the Act entitled " An act for the establishing Trading Houses with the Indians approved April 18, 1796 shall be revived and continued in force until March 4  
(3)  
next and no longer".

The Act of 1806 provided for a Superintendent of Indian Affairs, appropriated a capital of \$260,000 and \$13,000 for the

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(1) Annals of Congress 1795 - 96 Indian Affair vol. I p 583.

(2) Amer St Papers - Indian Affairs Vol. I p 684.

(3) " " " " " " p 824 Annals of C

( Appendix 1800 - 1803.



payment of superintendents, clerks ; also provided that each should take an oath and give bond to execute the laws and make (1) quarterly reports concerning the Indian Affairs. The act of 1816 was against foreigners trading in the Indian land - " that licensed to trade with the Indians - - - - United States - - - - shall not be granted to any but citizens of the United States , unless by the express direction of the President (2) of the United States". On April 1, 1822 a message from the Senate informed the House of Representatives that among the bills it had passed was an Act to abolish the United States Trading establishments with the Indian tribes thus doing away with (3) the tradin system.

The general plan for the Trading House was - the positions shall be chosen from the Indian possessions, but ~~were~~ not to become property of the United States but were to revert back to the original owners when they ceased to be used for a trading or military post. The trade was to be regulated by the President ; every article was to have a stipulated value ; weights and measures were to be used so the hunters would know the value of peltries and receive satisfactory exchange ; persons were to be appointed by the President to get manufactured goods from the factories and take them to the posts and sell them at cost plus the charge of transportaion. Where licensed traders carried on trade they were allowed only a stipulated

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- (3) Annals of Congress Dec. 1805 - March 3 , 1807 p 1287  
 (4) " " " Dec. 1815 - April 1816 Appendix.  
 (5) " " " 1822 p 144.





amount for wages and the prices were to be posted in the villages.

The success of this system is shown in the correspondence of the time . The Report given by J. Mason, Supt. of Indian Affairs, February 14, 1809 showed the need of a larger appropriation for salaries - the President could draw \$10,000 from the United States treasury for this purpose while the amount needed was \$25,295.00 so that the salaries had to be paid by taxing the trading fund which was contrary to the plan of the system.<sup>(1)</sup>

In answer to the question as to "placing the general management of Indian Affairs in a separate and independent department", Mr. Niles favored this step if the commerce of the nation was to be kept in the hands of the government but owing to the annual loss of \$5 000 to the government he felt it was impracticable to continue the system unless it should be for the influence upon the Indians.<sup>(2)</sup>

Mr. Ninian Edwards from Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory, wrote to Wm. H. Crawford, Secretary of War, November 1815 giving the management of affairs in this country and recommended changes. He said the agents from different factories had been trading in one another fields which multiplied the expenses and created a source for future trouble ; the powers are not

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(1) Amer St. P VI Indian Affairs vol I p 756.

(2) Niles Weekly Register vol. X



clearly defined as shown by the clause," to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians and to preserve peace on the frontiers" ; the law for granting license was defective since it could not prohibit the most offensive practices to the Indians nor prohibit the sale of ardent spirits to them. The remedies he suggested were - to define the territory in which the agents were to work ; to regulate the relation between the Superintendents and the agents who should be directly responsible to their Superintendents ; lastly to give the Superintendents and agents power to deliver all traders who were without out license, to the civil authority.



In 1815 Wm. Clark in asking for a Trading House to be established at St. Louis suggested a plan which he thought would be an improvement over that of the government, hence would be more successful. - There was to be a capital of \$1,000,000 - divided into small shares of \$100 , three-fourths of the subscriptions were to be made by the western people thus obtaining their cooperation which would add to the success of the undertaking. (1)

Mr. B. O. Fallow, United States Indian Agent located in Missouri , on making a visit to Prairie de Chein in May 1817, wrote to Governor Wm. Clark his surprise and disappointment on finding that many British who had committed the worse destruction upon the Americans during the war 1812 - 1814, were licensed traders, (equipped with license under the authority of the United States government) who were taking a dishonorable part in checking the progress of the American enterprise. (2)

The letters of Matthew Irwin at the United States factory at Green Bay to the Superintendent of Indian Trade, Thomas McKenney, ( covering the year 1817 - 1820) show that the British traders were still licensed to trade with the United States Indians ; the lack of authority vested in the agents to act against unprincipled traders and the continued use of whiskey, all of which work against the success of the Trading House. (3)

Later Irwin wrote to McKenney that things had come to such

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(1) Ibid. (2) Amer. St. Papers VI, Indian Affairs II p 353  
 (3) Amer. St. Papers VI, Indian Affairs II p 358 - 361.





a state ~~throw~~ the agency of the British traders that the Indians had been excited to insult American traders by firing upon them. He wrote about Chicago's bad condition - due to the fact that the superiority of furs brought there, had attracted the cunning British trader who during the traffic with the Indians kept them in a drunken state. After the agent had practically stolen all the furs he left the Indian in his terrible debauchery . Mr. Irwin suggested to break up the two Trading Houses at Green Bay and Chicago and combine the stock and follow the military post with a factory at St. Peter's where none had never been tried. (1)

The Indian trade was of such a character that it could be carried on only by a person who was familiar with the Indians and who was willing to give them a smoke, a drink or presents and to talk with them. Such could be found in the private <sup>trader</sup> who took out a license which was a kind of restraint placed upon him but which did not interfere with his success . He was able to go to all the Indian villages and hunting-camps and entrusted the native with the Articles needed for the hunt and sold things at more reasonable prices than the Factories did so that in 1820 the Indians did nine-tenths of their bartering with him. (Amer. St. Papers VII, Indian Affairs vol. 11 p 329)

The very unfavorable reports accompanied with various suggestions for improvements upon the old trading system demanded a financial report from the committee on Indian Affairs. This report showed that from the first operation of this traffic up to December 1809 there was a loss of \$44,538.36 , since

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(1) Ibid ; Wis. Hist. Coll vol. VII



(1)  
 then till 1818 an annual loss of \$5 000 ; also the total expen-  
 ditures for the years 1820 and 1821 alone were \$240,368.23 (2)  
 These conditions showed the utter failure of the Government (3).

Congress repealed the "Trading House Act" March 1 , 1823.  
 Provisions were made where by new Superintendent (Mr. Geo.  
 Graham in Thos. L. Mc Kenny's place ) and agents were appointed  
 to receive the goods from the Governement Posts. " In turn-  
 ing over the merchandise (much valueless material on hand) and  
 other property on hand, at the several trading Houses into  
 the hands of new merchants, the original invoice prices were  
 to be charged to the government. All debts due to failures,  
 which have been created, not collected by the former agents,  
 also the Factory buildings were to be charged to the government" (4)

The causes for the failure of the American Government  
 Trading Houses were due chiefly to British influence over the  
 Indians.. They allowed no one to be an agent who could not  
 speak some one of the Indian languages which would enable him  
 to come into closer contact with the Indians - this would also  
 remove the need for interpreters. They flatterdd the Indian  
 by giving him military positions and presents . Lastly they  
 supplied him with whiskey which he could not get at the trad-  
 ing post.

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(1) Amer State Papers , Indian Affairs vol. II

(2) Amends of Congress 1818 p 801 ; Amer St P- Indian Affairs  
 II p 246.

(3) See p 15 for Appropriations and expenditures, 1795 - 1818.

(4) Annals of Congress 1822 ; Amer St P. - Indian Aff II p 417.





The American Governments' failure was because it did not take the field to itself, but granted licenses to provide traders or parties, thus placing itself on the level of a competing trader. The commercial business was so interwoven with Indian control - the American Trading House being established in conjunction with the military posts - that it partook largely of a governing nature. The Superintendents were uninterested in the business so turned it over to incompetent persons. The poor quality of goods purchased and the slow delivery of them; also the fact that none of them were given as presents to the Indian. The unwillingness of the government to appropriate enough money to conduct the Indian affairs within its territory. By placing salaried agents, who were unfamiliar with the Indian customs, at the posts to carry on the traffic. Lastly the none use of the credit system which was indispensable to the Indian trade on account of the distance of the trading grounds.  
(1)

The influence of the trading posts tended to deteriorate rather than to elevate the Indian. It gave him fire arms thus making him a more dreaded enemy, and caused those unarmed to move to more remote places to which the trader naturally followed him thus exploring unknown regions. By inter-marriage with the white people the purity of Indian blood was destroyed; the destruction of the Indian institutions - totemic divisions -  
(2)

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(1) Johns Hopkins Univer. Studies, vol. XII J. James' Art., "Eng. Insti & Amer Indians". Johns Hopkins Univer, Studies vol. IX F. J. Turner's article "The Character and Influence of the Amer Indian trade in Wis." Chittenden, His of the Amer Fur Trade of the Far Northwest, Vol. I.

(2) John Hopkins Univer Studies, vol. XII J. A. James' art "English Institutions and Amer Indians".



caused much difficulty in dealing with the Indian. Through the posts the whites were led to exploration, making new settlements along the frontier, opened up rich regions to the American farmers and furnished a basis for the government's future acquisition of territory.



(3) Statement of appropriations and expenditures on account of trading-houses with the Indian tribes, from 4th March, 1789 to the 31st December, 1819.

Appropriation	Amount appropriated	Amount carried to surplus fund	Balance of appropriation	Expenditures	Amount expended
1795	\$ 50,000 00		\$ 50,000 00	1795	\$ 2,000 00
1796	\$158,000 00	\$118,000 00	40,000 00	1796	58,000 00
1797	8,000 00	8,000 00		1797	30,000 00
1798	8,000 00	8,000 00		1798	
1799	110,000 00	110,000 00		1799	
1800	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	<del>1800</del>	- - - - -
1801	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	1801	- - - - -
1802	118,000 00	86,000 00	32,000 00	1802	32,000 00
1803	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	1803	- - - - -
1804	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	1804	- - - - -
1805	129,000 00	- - - - -	129,000 00	1805	100,000 00
1806	77,000 00		77,000 00	1806	75,000 00
1807	13,000 00		13,000 00	1807	44,000 00
1808	13,000 00		13,000 00	1808	2,250 00
1809	53,800 00	10,246.16	43,553.84	1809	43,353.84
1810	13,800 00		13,800 00	1810	23,800 00
1811	4,325.00		4,325 00	1811	4,150 00
1812	30,312.76		30,312.76	1812	16,870 00
1813	19,250.00	10,014.62	9,235.38	1813	16,883.28
1814	19,250 00	1,770.65	17,479.35	1814	10,294.86
1815	19,250 00	429.33	18,820.67	1815	4,500.00
1816	19,250 00	42.19	19,207.81	1816	17,437.16
1817	19,250 00		19,250 00	1817	18,820.67
1818	19,587.50		19,587 00	1818	21,866.98
1819	19,700 00		19,700 00	1819	19,446.35
					<u>\$540,673.14</u>
			Balance unexpended on December 31, 1819		28,599.17
	<u>\$921,775.26</u>	<u>\$352,502.95</u>	<u>\$569,272 03</u>		<u>\$569,272.31</u>

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(a) Volume I contains the Journals of Conrad Weiser, George Croghan, Christian Fred Post and Thomas Morris who travelled through western States ed 1904.

(b) Volume II is John Long's Journal 1768 - 1782 ed 1904. He was an Indian interpreter and trader and explorer in the upper country . He had an intimate knowledge of Indian life and customs and of the fur trade and traders and portrayed the conditions during the period of "free" trade.

(c) Volume VI contains - Brackenridge's Journal up the Missouri 1811 ; also Franchère's Voyage to Northwest Coast, 1811 - 1814. ed 1904. Brackenridge gives an account of Indian life and customs which is perhaps tainted by his harsh idea that " the world would lose but little if these people should disappear before civilized communities".

Franchere's purpose in writing was to partly vindicate the reputation of his compagnons de voyage , those characters Irving had misrepresented, The ground has historical value also.

(d) Volume VIII contains Futtericks Voyages , 1812 - 1819, also Evan's Pederstrians Tour 1818. ed 1804 .



Butterick's Journal throws much light on the hardships of pioneer. Evan comments upon the men and conditions which he saw in the course of his long tour. He gives a good picture of Michigan territory , the influence of the fur trade and the scattered posts.

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Mr. Flint was a French , scientific economist who travelled in America 1818 - 1820. His letters portray social and economic conditions of the country and revealed the progress and possibilities of the New West.

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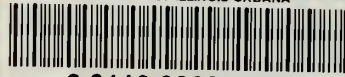








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